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Stephen Nawes'

"The Pastime of Pleasure,"

ALLEGORICAL POEM,

WRITTEN ABOUT 1506,

FIRST PRINTED BY WYNKYN DE WORDE, 1509.

CRITICAL INTRODUCTION TO A PROPOSED NEW EDITION OF THE TEXT.

INAUGURAL DISSERTATION FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY AT THE UNIVERSITY OF ZÜRICH,

RV

EUGEN A. BURKART.

APPROVED BY PROF. DR. THEODORE VETTER.

RECAP

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LONDON

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English Seminary.

Presented by

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Printed by ARLISS ANDREWS, MUSEUM STREET, LONDON, W.C.

M.DCCCXCIX.

MEINEM VATER,

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Part 1.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

No allegorical poem, worthy of that name and so well known during the reigns of Henry VII and Henry VIII as the "Pastime of Pleasure," has since met with so much undeserved negligence and unfair judgment by literary critics as the above named allegory of *Stephen Hawes*.

I attribute this negligent treatment not only to the great scarcity of the text, but also to the unfortunate choice of the subject. It must, however, be remembered that our poet, being a courtier, and depicting his ideal of education and the life of a knight at that period, wrote for a comparatively small class of readers. He put into verse the refined language of the court, which is not marked by many of those simple but vigorous expressions, mostly of Anglo-Saxon origin, which procured the undisputed popularity to Chaucer, Gower, Lydgate and even Skelton and Barclay. Hawes' language shows a more advanced state of style and vocabulary than any of his contemporaries and these circumstances, together with his pedantic display of learning can have recommended his writings to the well educated classes only, for whom they were intended, and must have hindered them from becoming popular.

The unhappy introduction of the seven sciences and the somewhat tedious length of the poem have also discouraged many a reader and student, and have shut their eyes to the real merit of our poet; but let us not forget that it was intended for an audience quite accustomed to what now seems to us an unreasonable development and application of allegorical figures.

Compare Chaucer's "Romaunt of the Rose," with 7698 lines, "House of Fame," unfinished, 2158 lines, Lydgate's "Temple of Glass," 1403 lines, "Court of Sapience," 2282 lines, etc.

Hawes, wishing to produce a work worthy to be compared with those of his predecessors, was probably compelled by ambition and the example of his master, Lydgate, to extend his poem as far as possible. Originally, however, our author seems to have intended to conclude the poem with the death of his hero in Chap. XXXIX, for in Chap. IV., where he gives the disposition and contents of the allegory, no allusion is made to the last six chapters, and we may really look upon them as an addition of little importance to the whole work.

For the same reason of lengthening the poem Hawes might have added Chapters XIV., XXIII. and XXIV., for they stand in no close connection with either preceding or following chapters and certainly do not make the allegory more interesting, but give to the reader the impression of a collection of poems on different subjects.

If, however, we want to do justice to Stephen Hawes as a poet, we must not look upon the "Pastime" in small fragments as many critics have done, and certainly not pass judgment on the whole of the poem after having read an extract; such for instance as the reader will find in *Prof. Wülker's* "Geschichte der Englischen Litteratur," p. 174, which is intended to illustrate a certain defect only.

It cannot be denied that if we consider the "Pastime" from the æsthetic point of view, we shall find it, as many critics term it, whimsical, tedious and long-winded, and especially so if we accept the versification in all its crudeness and imperfection in which the old blackletter prints have transmitted it to us. Nevertheless I think that a student of the early English language and literature may still peruse "the Pastime" with great interest, for Hawes may justly be called the first poet who presents to us the English language in the "depured" state of the New English period, towards which *Chaucer* and his followers had led the way. It had, with our poem, assumed in all essentials that form, in which it was taken up and

further cultivated by the great masters of the Elizabethan era. "The Pastime" also has its merits with regard to allegorical fiction in general; Hawes improves on the poems of his master by a clear and striking conception of allegorical figures, and this interesting feature cannot have remained without influence on Spenser and Bunyan.

Amongst his contemporaries Hawes has been very closely imitated by *William Nevill*, son of Lord Latimer, in the "Castell of Plesure," an allegorical poem (printed by Henry Pepwell, 1518), which contains many passages almost literally taken from our "Pastime"; comp. notes 29, 44, 307, 1939.

Thomas Feylde, in the prologue of his "Conversation between a Louer and a Jay" consecrates to the memory of our poet a stanza which, together with Nevill's poem, shows that he had met with no little approbation amongst the educated class of his time; for Thomas Feylde writes:

Yonge Stephen Hawse, whose soule God pardon, Treated of love so clerkely and well; To rede his werkes is myn affectyon, Which he compyled for ia bell Pucell, Remembrynge storyes fruytefull and delectable, etc.

Skelton also shows signs of his knowledge of our poem, as will be seen in notes 491, 1263, 1534, 1835, 3796 ff. But in spite of these facts the "Pastime" did not enjoy long fame and the four editions of the book which appeared from 1509-1555 did not save the poem from oblivion, so that in 1691 **Anthony Wood**, in his "Athenae Oxoniensis" (see Edit. Bliss, 1813, vol. I. 9), found reasons to lament the unhappy fate of this allegory in the following terms: But such is the fate of pietry, that this book, which in the time of Henry VII. and VIII. was taken into the hands of all ingenious men, is now thought but worthy of a baliad-monger's stall (see also p. 13) Wood's lament, however, died away unheeded, and during another century the "Pastime" remained neglected and was really introduced anew into English Literature by **Thomas Warton** (1790),

^{*} This poem was first printed by Wynkyn de Worde (without date), and reprinted for the Roxburghe Club by T. F. Dibdin, 1818.



who, basing his clear judgment on Wood's account and especially on his own careful study of the poem, spoke highly in its favour, and we can but agree with his opinion when he says that "Hawes is greatly superior to many of his immediate predecessors and contemporaries in harmonious versification and clear expression" (see Warton, History of English Poets, edit. Hazlitt, Vol. III., p. 169 ff.)

George Ellis takes, however, quite a different view of this allegorical poem; he forms his less favourable opinion from the æsthetic standpoint only, and thereby fails to do justice to Stephen Hawes, especially when he states that our poet "has imitated Lydgate's worst manners" (see Ellis, Specimens of the Early English Poets, London, 1811, vol. III., p. 409 ff)

I mention these authorities, Warton and Ellis, as representing the two existing opinions on the "Pastime"; the one or other has been accepted with more or less study of the subject itself from such writers as Hallam, Thomas Ward, Mrs. Barrett Browning, David Laing, Campbell, Arnold, Spalding, etc.*

During more recent years articles on Stephen Hawes have appeared in **Henry Morley's** "English Writers," London, 1891, vol. VII., p. 171 ff. †—**Stephen and Lee:** Biographical Dictionary, vol. XXV. (1891), p. 188 ff.—**Ten Brink:** Geschichte der Englischen Litteratur, Strassburg, 1893, vol. II.. p. 445 ff., and **Wülker:** Geschichte der Englischen Litteratur, Leipzig and Wien, 1896, p. 174.

In the following new edition of the poem and investigation of the language of Stephen Hawes, I hope to supply a missing link in the study of the development of the language between Lydgate and the Elizabethan poets and to make the poem accessible to every student who as yet has been too much dependent on critics and specimens, owing to the great scarcity of the full text.

^{*} For their respective works see p.

[†] Morley also pays great attention to Hawes' next important work: "The Example of Vertue," giving an elaborate analysis of its contents, the only one existing (see p. 16).

CHAPTER II.

THE AUTHOR: HIS LIFE AND WORKS.

The chief and almost only source from which the known accounts of Hawes' biography have been taken, is furnished by **Bishop John Bale:** Scriptorum illustrium maioris Britaniae... Catalogus, Basiliae apud Joanem Oporinum, 1557—in the following article:

"Stephanus Havues, illustris generis homo, ab ipsa adolescentia cupidus bonis studiis mentem excolendi, relictis parentum ædibus ad diversas diversarum regionum scholas, pro literis hauriendis se contulit. Doctrinam vero, quam studiorum tempore per Angliam, Scotiam et Galliam accurate per didicit, in sermone, in moribus et in omni vitæ suae consuetudine exprimebat. Ingenium ei faelicissimum contigit et lingua ad omnem dicendi rationem accommoda: totaque eius vita, ut fertur, quasi virtutis exemplum fuit. Unde sapientissimus princeps Henricus Septimus, Anglorum rex, ad aulam ad interiorem cameram et ad secretum cubiculum tandem sola virtutis commendatione vocabat. Ubi inter amæna contemplationis ocia in Anglico sermone composuit:

- I. Delectamen spiritus, lib. I.
- II. Amantium consolamen, lib. I.
- III. Virtutis exemplar, lib. I.
- IV. De Coniugo principis, lib. I.
 - V. Alphabetarium auricularium.
- VI. Templum crystallinum, lib. I.

Aliaque nonulla metro, ac prosa congessit, quae ab multis in Anglia cum voluptate leguntur. Claruit anno at divini verbi incarnatione 1500, sub Henrico prædicto, in quo Alexander pantifex sub lilaeum Romae in maiori quam unquam ante luxuria celebravit."

Anthony Wood (1632-95) "Athenae Oxoniensis. An exact history of all the writers and Bishops who have had their education in the University of Oxford" (Edit. Bliss 1813, I. col. 9) mentions our author as originally descended from the Hawes of Hawes in the Bushes, in the county of Suffolk, and as having been instructed in all such literature as that

University could at the time afford, but whether he took a degree, the University has no record to show.

In addition to the statement given by Bale, Wood remarks that our poet was highly esteemed by King Henry VII for his facetious discourse and prodigious memory, "which last did evidently appear in this, that he could repeat most of our English poets, especially Lydgate, monk of Bury." How far this is true we have no means to ascertain.

A few further facts have been pointed out to us by Warton, W. Wright, David Laing, and Stephen and Lee, but the dates of Hawes' birth and death still remain unknown.

We meet our author's name for the first time in 1503, in the household accounts of Henry VII, where, on occasion of the funeral of the queen, "Hawse" is mentioned as having received four yards of black cloth for mourning. Then again in the king's private accounts, where under date of January 10th, 1506, we find a note that "Hawse" had received "10s. for a ballet"* (Stephen and Lee). On 22nd April, 1509, Henry VII died; the accounts again show that the officers of the court had received black cloth, but Stephen Hawes is not mentioned amongst them. Whether he had left the king's service as groom of the chamber or retained that office also under King Henry VIII is not known, but the colophon to a poem, entitled "A ioyful meditacyon" (full title, see page 17) and addressed to Henry VIII, says that Hawes was "sometime groom of the chamber to our late soverayne lorde kynge Henry the seventh," and this seems to suggest that the poet had left that post but without losing the favour of the new king, for the household accounts in the records of the Rolls House show the following entry under date of January 6th, 1821:

"Item, to Mr. Hawse for his play (now probably lost) VI!i. XIII! IIII! (W. Wright).

Bacon (History of the reign of Henry VII) says that Stephen Hawes confuted a Lollard in a public disputation at Canterbury (Warton III, p. 169.)

^{*} Ballet, in the sense of ballad, song.

To these facts Stephen and Lee ("National Biography") add that "in the archdeaconery court of Suffolk, under date of 16th January 1523 is proved a will made two years before, by one Stephen Hawes, whose property, all in Aldborough, is left to his wife Catherine, and it is possible that the testator was the poet." may therefore assume that Hawes died in January, 1523.*

With regard to his birth it is interesting to notice that none of the critics has ever searched the poem itself for biographical allusions, although it is a well-known fact that we meet with many valuable remarks on Chaucer, Gower, Lydgate, Occleve, Skelton etc., in their writings; we can draw conclusions to the poet's approximate age from such verses in which he attributes his bad skill in versifying and his want of learning to his youth. So he writes in the prologue to "The Convergeon of Swerers" (see page 17).

" I lytell or nought expert in poetrye Remembrynge my youth, so lyght and frayle, Purpose to compyle here full breuyately A lytell treatyse".

Again in "The Pastime," v. 2864 ff.:

". I am but yonge, it is to me obtuse,

Of these matters to presume to endyte. . '."

But these excuses, by themselves of little importance, tend to confirm the truth of the more important and direct statement contained in v. 2997; that the poet was thirty-one years old when he wrote these lines:

> "I thought me past all chyldly ygnoraunce The XXXI yere of my yonge flourynge age."

In the colophon to the poem (see page 19 and text page Hawes tells us that he wrote "The Pastime" "the XXI vere of his [Henry VII] most noble revgne," that is 1506; the poet, therefore, most probably was born in the year 1475, which is five years earlier than was hitherto conjectured. D. Laing: Introduction to "The Convercyon of Swerers," Edinburgh, 1865.)

^{*} My own investigations at the Rolls House, I am sorry to say. have been fruitless.

The resumé of the poet's biography is then as follows:

Stephen Hawes was born in 1475, as the son of a country gentleman in Suffolk. He was educated at Oxford, travelled in England, Scotland, France and Germany and thus acquired a good knowledge of the languages and literature. Having returned to England he gained (probably by his pen and splendid education) the favour of King Henry VII, who made him groom of the chamber (about 1500) and encouraged him in his literary work. It is under the influence of this king that he wrote nearly all the poems yet known to us (1500-1509). After the death of his master, Hawes withdrew from the court and literary work and retired for the rest of his life (for unknown reasons) to his country seat at Aldborough, in Suffolk, where he died in January, 1523 at the age of 47 years.

Hawes' writings, in verse and prose, must have been, if we are to accept the statement of Bale and Wood, much more numerous than is at present known to us; and it is probable that many of his works may have been lost because they were never printed.

The following is an account of all his poems,* transmitted to us in blackletter and existing only in a few very valuable copies:

- 1. "The Pastime of Pleasure," see next Chapter.
- 2. "The Example of Yertue," written 1504; full title:—
 "Here followeth a compendyous story and is called the example of vertue, in the whiche ye shall finde many goodly storyes and naturall dysputacyons betwene foure ladyes named Hardynes, Sapience, Fortune and Nature. Compyled by Stephen Hawys, one of the gromes of the most honorable chambre of our souerayne lorde kynge Henry the seventh, the XIX yere of his most noble raygne and by him presented to our sayd soveraygne lorde, chapytred and marked after this table here before sette." With name and woodcut device of Wynkyn de Worde on the last page, but without colophon and date (about 1512?) 4to., 46 leaves. An imperfect copy is

^{*} Taken from the original copies or the catalogues of Ames & Dibdin, Hazlitt, Lowndes, Collier, etc.

supposed to be at the Pepysian Library at the Magdelene College, Cambridge (but could not be shown to me).

Another edition of this poem is "prynted XX day of Apryll, Anno dni. M.CCCCC.XXX" and has the following colophon: "Explicit exemplum virtutis. Here endeth the example of virtue. Imprynted at London, in Fletestrete, at the sygne of the sonne by me Wynkyn de Worde. Anno Domini, M.CCCCC.XXX," 4to., 38 leaves. With woodcuts (Hazlitt). A copy is at Britwell House (Bucks.), another in the Pepysian Library at Oxford. Professor Morley has given an elaborate analysis of the contents of this poem from the still unpublished sheets of Professor Arber, who intends to give a complete edition of Hawes' works (Morley: English Writers, vol. vii, p. 71.)

3. "The Convercyon of Swerers." 307 verses in seven-line stanzas. 4to. Colophon: "Thus endeth the convercyon of sweres, made and compyled by Stephen Hawys, groom of the chambre of our sovereigne lorde Kynge Henry the seventh. Emprynted at London, in Fletestrete, at the sygne of the Sonne, by Wynkyn de Worde, Prynter unto the most excellent prynces[s], my lady, the kynges graundame; the yere of our Lorde M.CCCCC.IX, the first yere of the reigne of our soveraygne lord kynge Henry the VIII." (Ames and Herbert.) An imperfect copy is at Britwell, a better preserved one in the University Library at Cambridge.

Another edition was printed by Willyam Copland in 1551. 4to., eight leaves.

A third edition, without date, and described as "probably unique," occurred in the sale of Caldecott's library in 1883, it was bought in 1864 for the Huth Library for the respectable sum of £40. (Laing.)

This poem, together with the following, was reprinted with an interesting introduction by **David Laing** for the Abbotsford Club, Edinburgh, 1865.

4. "A ioyful meditacyon to all Englonde of the coronacyon of our most natural souerayne lorde kynge Henry the eight." With woodcut on the title page, representing the marriage, between Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon; 204 verses in seven-line stanzas. 4to. Colophon:

"Thus endeth this ioyfull medytacyon, made & compyled by Stephen Hawes, sometime groom of the chamber to our late souerayne lorde kynge Henry the seventh. Emprynted at London, in the fletestrete, at the sygne of the sonne by wynkyn de worde." No date (1509?)

A copy of this poem is kept at the University library, Cambridge.* It has line 44 partly and line 143 altogether cut off at the bottom of the page by the binder.

5. "The Comfort of louers" is another of Hawes' works. It is printed by Wynkyn de Worde, without date, (1509?) To Lowndes' Manual, only one copy is known; Stephen and Lee mention it as being at the Ham House, where I found it bound together with the "Pastime" under the title: "Hawes' Poems." It consists of 17 leaves, about 50 seven-line stanzas (see page 19.)

"The Temple of Glass," assigned to Hawes by Bale, Wood etc. is, as Schick in his edition of that poem clearly proves, by Lydgate. Hawes himself mentions it (v. 1309) amongst his master's works; which fact shows, as Schick justly remarks, how carelessly the critics must have read the "Pastime."

Bale and Wood also attribute to our poet works like—

"The delight of the soul," "Of the prince's marriage," "The Alphabet of Birds," but nothing is known of them, and my researches also in this direction have not met with great success. I presume, however, that under "Delectamen spiritus," which Wood translates as "The delight of the soul," thus taking it for a new poem, Bale meant the "Pastime of plesure," which otherwise would not be mentioned by him.

"The prince's marriage" probably is another title for "A ioyfull meditacyon," and may have received the Latin name "De coniugio principis" by the woodcut on the title page (see above page 17.)

CHAPTER III.

THE PASTIME OF PLEASURE.

A. Transmission of the Text.

"The Pastime of plesure" (pleasure) has been transmitted

 $^{^{\}star}$ By kind permission of the chief librarian, Mr. Jenkinson, I was allowed to copy the poem.

to us in black letter print; no manuscript of this poem seems to have been known to any collector. The original was presented to **King Henry VII** and printed for the first time shortly before his death by

Wynkyn de Worde in 1509.

The whole title runs thus:

"The Passetyme of Pleasure, or the history of Graund Armour and la Bell Pucell, containing the knowledge of the Seven sciences and the course of man's life in this world."

The only copy known of this edition seems to have been discovered by Stephen and Lee, and is in the possession of the Earl of Dysart, at Ham House, Richmond, where by kind permission of the owner, I was allowed to inspect it. Our poem forms part of a little volume, 4to., marked "Hawes' poems," which also contains "The Comfort of lovers (see page 18).

"The Pastyme" begins with Chapter V, the lower halves of the first seven leaves are moth-eaten and the different parts of the poem are bound together in such disorder that it is impossible to arrange the whole without the help of a later copy. An early reader must have found himself at a loss, especially when he met Godfrey Gobilyue's heroic couplets (v. 3452 ff.) out of their place, for he wrote on the margin of the leaf, that these lines, to judge by the different metre, did not belong to this poem at all. There are a few woodcuts. The following colophon is found on the last page:

"Here endeth the pastyme of pleasure. Enprynted at London in Flete-strete at the Sygne of the Sonne by Wynkyn de Worde, the yere of oure Lorde MVC and IX—and ended XI daye of January." (Compare footnote, page I in K. Fuhr's dissertation on "Lautuntersuchungen zu Steph. Hawes' Gedicht: 'The Pastime of Pleasure,' Marburg, 1891.)

A second edition by the same printer appeared in 1517, which Ames and Dibdin, Collier, Herbert and Hazlitt supposed to be the first edition.

The title: "Here beginneth the passetyme of pleasure" appears on a ribbon above a woodcut of an angel with three heads, covered with a single crown, a sceptre in the right hand and a book in the left. At his feet are the seven sciences. There are other woodcuts. Colophon: "Here endeth the pastyme of pleasure. Imprynted the yere of our lorde MCCCCC and XVII, therd daye of December." Ends with a woodcut device of Wynkyn de Worde [Hazlitt, Handbook]. The only copy known is at Britwell House, Bucks.*

The third edition was printed by John Wayland in 1554, without woodcuts. The title is altered to: "The historye of graunde Amoure & la Bell Pucell, called Pastime of plesure," etc. (See p. Text). 103 leaves 4to. Our text will be a reprint from this edition, which is the earliest in the British Museum. An addition to the small volume has been made by Wayland in form of the address "To the Reader" (p.) which is not contained in any of the other editions.

A fourth blackletter print left the press of Richard Tottell in 1555; with woodcuts, similar to those in Wynkyn de Worde's editions, but the title page altered in the same way as in Wayland's edition. After the table of contents we find the following notice (omitted in Wayland):

"This boke, called the pastyme of pleasure, was made and compyled by Stephen Hawes, one of the gromes of the most honourable chambre of our souerayne lorde kynge Henry the seventh. The XXI yere of his most noble reygne, chapitred and marked after the table here before sette." 110 leaves 4to.

Colophon: "Imprynted at London in Fletestrete at the signe of the Hande and Starre, by Richard Tottell. Anno MDLV."

The fifth and last blackletter edition appeared also in 1555, printed by John Waley. No copy of this edition seems to be known.

The first modern reprint, taken from Wayland's edition of 1554, we find in Robert Southey's "Select works of the British Poets," London 1831 (with omission of verses 3481-82, 3487, 3620-21, 3655-70).

[†] A copy of this edition is at the British Museum. It seems to be a copy of W. de W. first edition. The first seven leaves have been lost and are replaced by a written facsimile.



^{*} Owing to the quite recent death of the proprietor, Mr. Christie-Miller, my request to see the books could not be granted.

The second and *last* reprint of the "Pastime" was edited by **W. Wright** for the Percy Society in **1845** with a short introduction and a few biographical notes. (He also omits verses: 3480-81, 3660-69, 3708).

Fragments of the "Pastime" have appeared in:

- George Ellis: Specimens of Early English Poets, London, 1811, Vol. I., p. 409 ff. Verses: 526-539, 5208-5214.
- W. W. Skeat: Specimens of Early English Literature, Oxford, 1871, p. 118 ff. Verses: 4214-4395, (Chap. XXXIII. indeed the best specimen to be selected).
- Thomas Ward: The English Poets, London, 1883, Vol. I., p. 175 ff., v. 2164-2219, 2437-2485, 3312-3332, 3780-3825.
- Thomas Arnold: A Manual of English Literature, London, 1877, p. 136. Verses: 2339-2352, 5089-95, 5352-54. In the following reprint have been employed:
 - The first edition by Wynkyn de Worde, 1509, in the footnotes and next chapters marked WW1.
 - The **third edition** by John Wayland (1554) from which our text has been copied, in the notes, etc. marked W₃.
 - And the **fourth edition** by Richard Tottell (1555), marked T₄.

B. Connections between the different prints.

By a comparison of the three last named blackletter prints we can conclude that only two manuscripts have existed.

The first edition, WWI, has probably been copied from the original, but not without disfiguring the text; verses 1708, 2085/86 are omitted and v. 2228-31 repeated; in WWI also occur the following misprints:

- v. 2808 Plauto for Plato.
 - 2815 opres[s] for expres[s].
 - 3038 consolacion for constellacion.
 - 3126 caused to be for cause it to be.
 - 5280 company for companion, etc.

The very same omissions, repetitions and misprints we meet again, together with a number of additional differences from

the original, in Tottell's edition, which therefore must be a copy of WW1, the spelling also of both prints being the same.

W3 appears to be a more faithful reprint of the original; no verses are omitted, none repeated and others, but not the above mentioned misprints of WW1, occur in this edition; but the spelling is so much more modern than that of WW1, that it seems to have been printed from a copy of the original M.S., which had been written shortly before 1544 and perhaps from dictation.

Compare the following differences between W3 on the one side and WW1 and T4 on the other.

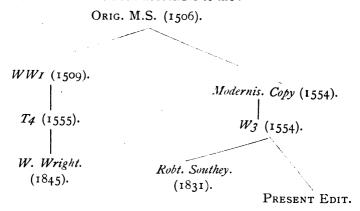
W3:	rvould		WW1: wolde	v. 468
	perfect	_	perfyte	481
	profite	_	prouffyte	486
	renue		renewe	515
	perfectly		perfytely	543
	ryghteousness	_	ryghtwysenes	569
	tower .		toure	594
	flowers		floures	598
	maruell		meruayle	748
	selues	_	selfe (pl.)	759
	mans		mannes	777
	perfect treason		terfit reason	812
	they had no order		none ordre	823
	safe		saufe	1244
	Gods		goddes (Gen.)	1307

It is true that the spelling of that time shows everywhere great variety but such differences seem more probably to have been caused by the ear than by the eye, while the following may be attributed to the carelessness of the writer or printer:

W3:	of disnull	_	WWI: to disnull	v. 720
	with the help	_	with the power	853
	ty me		synne	1313
	pleasea		appesed	1866
	knowe		growe	2053
	disposion		dysp o sycyon	2848
	pitifull		piteous	3822

Very numerous also are the cases where W₃ and WW₁ agree, but differ from T₄ as will be seen in the footnotes to our text; the printer of T₄ shows indeed the greatest carelessness of the three and the greatest differences from the original M.S.

The following is an illustration of the origin of the five editions which have been accessible to me:



CHAPTER IV. HAWES' METRE.

Our poet more than once expresses his indebtedness to his ideal and master Lydgate (see Dedic. v. 47;—1319, 1339) and it is to him that he turns for his metre, adopting and imitating for the greatest part of his poem that form which the monk employed in most of his writings and which Chaucer had introduced into English literature, the seven-line stanza also called rhyme royal, consisting of seven five-beat lines with the sequence of rhymes ABABCC (exception in v. 1926 — 32: ABABCC).

A small part of the "Pastime" — verses 3452 — 3747 and 4056 — 4213 is written in **heroic couplets** employed by Lydgate in the Troybook and "Story of Thebes" and by Chaucer in his Canterbury Tales and Legend of good Women, (vide Schick p. lv.). Morley ("English Writers") explains the change from the seven-line stanza to the "riding rhyme" with the following words: "In Henry VII's time, Chaucer's

stanza was the heroic measure of the English poets and when Hawes brought on the scene Godfrey Gobiliyue, the mean slanderer of women, because he would not let him speak heroically, Hawes changed the measure to the Riding rhyme." It seems to me more probable that our poet introduced the latter for the sake of variety to his metre in imitation of Lydgate and Chaucer and as being better suited to longer narration such as Godfrey had to deliver.

As "poor Daun John's" metre has been very severely criticised (see Schick, § 2, p. lvi) so has "The Pastime" suffered in the critic of Ellis and Hallam; the latter, however, like Morley, admits that the poem must have been disfigured in the press — how much so, I shall endeavour to show in my text. A few examples may suffice here to show the truth of the assertion made above:

Vers. 232 Her swete report so my hart set on fyre probably read originally:

Her swéte report so sét my hárt on fyre.

- 491 The pomped carkes, with fode delicious . . . stands , for: The pampered carkass
- 646 surdeth stands for surgeth.
- 720 Of disnull vice . . . for " To disnull vice."
- 871 Draffe unto them is more meter . . . instead of . . . more mete (meet, fit).
- 1089 . . . to understande thy warke.
 - Of many a noble . . . clarke is a misprint for to understande the warke
- 1287 On our blessed ladye the conversation . . . stands for: Of our blessed lady the commendation, for the title of Lydgate's respective work is: "Ballade in commendation of our Ladye" (reprinted in Chalmer's British Poets).
- 1525 Length the lyfe with dulcet armonye is a contraction of Lengtheth the lyfe, etc.

In v. 2183 we find assayed for assayled.

- 2771 interesse for enteresse.
- 3061 worthely glory for worldly glory, etc., etc.

Hawes himself seems not to have had a very high opinion of his art in versification, for in v. 55 Ded, he writes:

I me excuse, if by necligence, 1 hat I do offende for lacke of science.

and in verse 5745 he advises the reader to adde or detray; but we must allow for the great difficulty which the language and vocabulary of that time put in the way of clear and smooth rhythm and which we find expressed in nearly all the works of Hawes' predecessors (comp. Lydgate's lament, note 1275).

In the following I base my treatment of our poet's verse on Schipper's "Englische Metrik" (vol. I., § 196 and 197) and on Schick's clear analysis of Lydgate's metre (see "Temple of Glass" Introduction § 2), accepting for my investigation his five types of the five-beat line.

A. Lydgate's regular type, consisting of five iambics, to which, as to the other types, an extra syllable may be added at the end.

This is also the common type in our poem and nearly all the verses which are not mentioned [out of the first 1000 lines] in the following four types, are best read after this:

- Ex. v. 1. When Phébus éntred was || in Géminy.
 - 3. And hôrněd Dyáně || thên bùt ône děgré.
 - 6. In the depured dyre | and cruddy firmament.
- B. Lines with the trochaic caesura, built like the preceding, but with an extra syllable before the caesura.

This verse occurs very frequently in *Hawes*, *Lydgate* and *Chaucer* and is also a favourite measure with the Elizabethan dramatists, giving variety to the metre.

- Ex. v. 7. Förthe then I walked | without impediment.
 - 39. Untó thể tówer | of fáyre dáme beautye.
 - 42. Aboue ăll other || in clear beauty splendent.

According to this type may best be read verses: 48, 85, 86, 118, (*) 122, 138, 153, 169, 172, 192, 206, 210, 217, 220, 221, 224, 236, 241, 252, 264, 271, 311, 312, 332, 338, 343, 377, 392, 412, 458, 459, 469, 473, 475, 479, 480, 481, 489, 506, 510, 514-15, 516, 536, 571, 606, 637, 641, 642, 657, 686, 691, 700, 705,

726, 728, 737, 771, 772, 777, 818, 854, 886, 888, 894, 925, 937, 942, 952, 954/55, 964, 972, 991, etc.

It is of course not always easy and sometimes even impossible to say whether a line belongs to this or the first or following type, for the decision often depends only on the treatment of a final E.

C. This Schick calls "the peculiarly Lydgatian type," in which the thesis is wanting in the caesura, so that two accented syllables clash together.

Examples:

- 12. Of zépherus bréathe || whiche that euery floure.
- 20. But in the pathe || forth I went a pace.
- 23. Số fórth I wén! || wére it rýght ŏr wróng.
- 44. And músěd ôft || whíche was best to take.

Further instances in v. 47, 61, 87, 133, 149, 197, 222, 229, 267, 344, 442, 504, 513, 610, 673, 706, 739, 757, 776, 808, 862, 871, 928, 958, 973, etc.

D. The acephalous or headless line, in which the first syllable has been cut off, thus leaving a monosyllabic first measure.

This type is more frequent in *Hawes* than *Lydgate*. Examples:

- 10. Like à place | of pléasure most solacious.
- 40. Fáme shăll téll hym || óf thĕ wáy iu cértăintyé.
- 497. For they knewe | that it might not endure.
- 509. Up sŏ downe || is túrněd thên contrary.

See also verses: 88, 110, 150, 223, 260, 274, 375, 382, 398, 399, 422, 433, 449, 555, 627, 640, 736, 761, 801, 834, 918, 933, 981.

- E. Lines with trisyllabic first measure.
- Examples in *Hawes* are frequent, but uncertainty prevails between this and type D.
 - 50. For thys goodly picture || was in altitude.
 - 81. And with all his diligence || he must encline.
 - 142. When the golden world | had domination.
 - 152. For the commen profite || and benevolence.

The following lines, I think, are best read according to this type: 43, 159, 180, 200, 202, 219, 237, 242, 255, 259, 266, 304, 353, 359, 360, 366, 374, 391, 487, 519, 528, 535, 544, 559, 569, 576, 580, 634, 647, 723, 797, 806, 842, 857, 878, 900, 903, 911, 936, 944, 970, 975, 977, etc.

There remain however many irregular lines which cannot be classified with any one of the above mentioned five types, without following the poet's advice "to add and detray," (v. 5745) in order to rectify the metre and especially in such cases where the irregularity may be due to the writer or printer, as in verses like 17, 42, 46, 49, 89, 97, 148, 177, 182, 273, 284, 347, 365, 395, 411, 420, 440, 496, 528, 592, 784, 806, 935, etc., etc.

In the treatment of the **caesura** (which in all the black-letter prints is indicated by a perpendicular line as below) 'lawes seems to be much more a pupil of Chaucer than of Lydgate, being less monotonous than the monk.

If we follow *Schipper*, Englische Metrik, Vol. I, p. 450 ff., we shall find that our poet employs the following different kinds of caesura in the "Pastime."

I. The masculine caesura after the second foot, which - Schipper calls the ordinary caesura for Chaucer's line.

Examples: Shinyng aboue | in his fayre golden spere, v. 2.

Encensyng out | the aromatike odoure 11.

So as I went | among the floures tender 14.

It would me bryng | by any similitude 21.

This caesura is also the ordinary caesura in our poem; it occurs about 58 times in 100 verses.

2. The feminine (epic) caesura after the 2nd foot.

Examples: My chaunce or fortune | I nothing refused 19.

With the vayne glory | so much decyuable 33.

The last end thereof | shal be ryght precious 35.

Of my great musyng | of this royall ymage 48.

This caesura is comparatively rare in our text, final E being no longer sounded.

3. As frequent almost as the ordinary masculine caesura is



the one between the two parts of the third foot, called lyric caesura:

And horned Dyanë | then but one degre 3.

When that Aurorä | did [right] well appeare 5.

Thus stode I musynge | myselfe all alone 57.

When cleare Dyana | in the fayre southest 66.

4. The caesura after the third foot is rarely to be found in our text.

The masculine caesura occurs in cases like:

When Phebus entred was | in Geminy 1.

And with that she did | from me departe v. 260.

Strickyng off his heades | then euerychone 398.

For his pride and avarice | and also rapyne 970.

5. The feminine caesura exists after the 3rd foot in rare cases like the following:

And with all his diligence | he must encline 81.

Of all the seuen sciences | ryght notably 249.

Thus for these thre uyces | abhominable 967.

6. The lyric caesura between the two parts of the fourth foot seems not to occur in our text (comp. Schipper, I., 503 ff.) It is a characteristic feature in the "Pastime," that the caesura is hardly ever felt as a pause in the rhythm of the verse.

Double thesis exists in verses like:

- 9. Which Floră depáinted.
- 77. Was written a sentence . . .
- 367. Excéllyňg ăll óthěr . . .
- 856. Děpaintěd with gólde, etc.

Syncope or contraction of two vowels must be admitted in the following cases:

- 137. . . . many a champion, 361 . . . many a serpent.
- 38. Of the active life . . . 85. I adowne me sette . . . 94. With which I awoke . . . 178, put to utteraunce.
- 558. . . . to enstruct me.
- In 43. I behelde ryght well | bothe wayes twayne—
 "bothe" probably is a contraction of "both the"...

Hiatus is very common in our poem:

Into a meadowe 8, . . he gan to awayle 65.

Dyana in the fayre southest 66.

. . . the lady excellent 41, . . . to be intelligible 83.

Upon the Arras 377, . . . also observaunce 422.

And yet also I unto her . . . 435.

For further examples see v. 62, 74, 85, 155, 160, 320, 349, etc., etc.

Before н hiatus is generally avoided ·

- . . . with their swete [h] armonye 287.
- . . he mette an hydeous gyaunt 393.
- . . . like an horrible graunt 959.
- . . . the dulcet [h] armonye 1430, 1525.

Our poet makes the same wilful use of alliteration as an ornament to his language and style as *Chaucer* in the Canterbury Tales (see *Lindner*, The Alliteration in Chaucer, Zeitschr. f., Roman and English Spr. and Litt. Neue Folge II., 311 ff.) and *Spenser* in his "Faery Queene." It occurs most frequently in the description of palaces, battles, etc.

Examples: Like a place of pleasure 10, 356.

But in the pathe forth I went a pace 20.

So forth I went, were it right or wrong 23.

Before my face an ymage fayre and strong 25.

To whiche I went without longer delay 71.

To whiche there was no way . . . 317

Fragrant of Jume, swete as any floure 341.

The was I served with delicate dishes dainty 445,

Hawes also adopts many alliterating formulas and epithets which must have been in common use in conversation, such as: gay and glorious 8, 200, right or wrong 68, fiery flambes 102, 130, cloudes cleare 68, why and wherfore 109, busy paine 146, goodly guise 186, well and worthely 375, etc.

Alliterating proverbs have been adopted in verses 2073; The minde of men changeth as the moone. 1638. There is no sore, nor yet no sickness, but there is a salue 1835, 2295: Who spareth to speak, he spareth to spede. See also v. 1873-74.

Characteristic of the author's time is the frequent occurence of alliteration in the speech of the low type Godfrey Gobylyue, showing the great influence of the alliterative verse of the earlier centuries upon the common language. Comp. v. 3459 62, 64, 69, 70, etc. The poet's own strong inclination to introduce alliteration is also illustrated by the proper names of low characters of his own invention, such as Godfrey Gobylyue, 3491, Peter Pratfast 3458, Sim Saddlegander 3470, Dauy dronken nole 3484.

Hawes seems also to have been very proud of his frequent alliterations, caused by a repetition of the same root, thus forming his plays of words.

Comp. Without measure wo worth the jugement, 2563.

Wo worth your hert, etc., 3995 (See note.)

Measure measuring measurately taketh 2570 ff.

In the employment of **enjambement** or **run-on-line** Hawes proves to be for his time a very clever artistic poet and is herein much superior to Lydgate. Without apparent loss to sense, rhythm or rhyme he often combines two verses or even two stanzas, causing them to run on with a certain smoothness and elegance, which can hardly be found in his master's lines.

Thus we meet enjambement between the following verses: 7-8, 12-13, 21-22, 46-47-48, 50-51, 55-56, 59-60, 64-65, 66-67, 69-70, 78-79, 87-88, 89-90, 94-95, 97-98, 99-100, 100-101, etc. etc.

CHAPTER V. THE RHYME.

We find a clear analysis of the English pronunciation at the time of our poet in general in Ellis's investigations "On Early English Pronunciation" published for the Early English Text Society (last edit. 1874); on the sounds of Hawes' language in particular a dissertation appeared by Karl Fuhr: "Lautunter-suchungen in Steph. Hawes' Gedicht: 'The Pastime of Pleasure'"; Marburg 1891. I shall therefore repeat no facts stated there but limit my investigation on Hawes' language to the rhyme and his treatment of final E.

In the first, our poet follows the same principles as Chaucer

and Lydgate, but differs from his master, the monk of Bury, in the treatment of open and close E (ĕ - ē) and o (ŏ - ō). In Lydgate such rhymes are still frequent where no difference is made as to the quality of the rhyme-vowel, but they are seldom to be found in our poem.

Compare the following rhymes:

- ě. clere (O.F. clair)—pere (O.F. pair) 337/9 learne (Ags. leornain)—discerne (O.F. descerner) 468/69 clere (O.F. clair)—yere (Ags. geár)—chere (O.F. chiere) 542/4/5 electe (Lt. electus)—abiecte (Lt. abiectus) 650/1 nere (Ags. neár)—appeare (O.F. apparir) 802/4 set (Ags. saet)—get (Ags. gaet) 499/500.
- ē. Crete (Lt. Creta)—swete (Ags. swete) 148/50 dede (Wests. daed ded) mede (Ags. med) 258/60 crepe (Ags. créopan)—slepe (Wests. slaepan) 274/6 ende (Ags. ende) condiscende (Lt. con+discendere) 279/80 shene (Ags. scene)—grene (Ags. grene) 601/2.

ĕ in our rhyme is derived from*

- Ags. e (1 Umlaut of A):
 west 63 tell dwell 132/3 hell 946 chest 1322 nest best 1556/8.
- 2. Ags. ae (Umlaut of AI):

 dell 328 (dele 519) leade 331 spredde 1901 dredde 1916.

 Termination: NES: swetenes wydenes 996/8, greatnes likenes 1955/7.
- 3. Ags. ë, eo:

 herte 1576, 1772 asterte 1578 felt (pret. feel) melt
 1749/50.
- 4. Ags. êa:

 est 65 bemes stremes 281/3 nere 302 heade redde
 333/4 yere 1344, release 3556.
- 5. O.F. ĕ (Lt. ĕ) spere 2 discerne 449, 563 referred averred 533/5 electe abiecte 650/1 effect 1126 rest opprest 1850/2.

^{*} See Ten Brink: Chaucer's Spr. § ii ff.

6. O.F. ai (Lt. α + palat.)

clere 4, 337, pere 339, peace 1490 cleare 1542, circuler 356 — (Gramer).

7. Greek-Lt. ě: Eufrates — wydenes 999 Hercules — prowes 177/9.

ē is derived from the following sources:

- 1. Ags. ē or Wests. ae:
 - went 55, swete 150 mede 260, ende 279, kepe 517 shene — grene 601/2 nette 87 — wepe 1684 dede 258 slepe 276 let 502 wede 1354 spede 1835.
- 2. Ags. êo:
 crepe 274, thre see 713/4 lemes 2880 depe 1682.
- 3. O.F. ē:

 degree 801, chere 1545 (entent 56) condiscende 280 extende 688.

 Suffixes: ENT: entent 56 fervent excellent jugment

 232/234/5: ENCE: audyence science 251/2 excellence 431

presence 429: TE: (ty Lt. tatem): fidelitye — liberalitye 426/7, humilitie 446. (Comp. Suffix TE — TY p. 33)

- 4. O.F. ie in entier (e) becomes entere 3596 and rhymes with dere (dear), while maner (O.F. manière) 357, 1469 rhymes with circuler (O.F. circulair). Uncertainty between ĕ and ē may be found in rhymes where E derives from Wests. ae, Ags. e. According to Ten Brink § 25 such words allow a double reading; compare spede—mede 1837, 2064 spede—heade 1913 speake—breake 2036/37, 2436/8, wene—sene 3552/3, 3722/3. No difference exists between Ey and Ay: obey—gaye—araye 457/9/60.
 - With regard to o rhymes, Hawes makes the same clear distinction between open and close vowel; such rhymes, as Schick points out in the "Temple of Glass" (Chap. V. § 3) are scarcely to be found in our poem.

ŏ is derived from (Comp. Ten Brink § 23)

1. Ags. ā:

wrong — strong — along 23/5/6 stone — gone — alone 50/2/3 one 317 none 593 among 1082 also — wo — foe 401/3/4 more — sore 143/3.

- 2. Ags. a (éa) before LD: olde beholde 1021/2.
- 3. Ags. ŏ before LD:
 golde 309 (beholde)
- 4. Ags. o in the penultimate:

brother — other 400/2, broken — token 1448/9 hope — (grope) 1713 beforne — forlorne — borne 1591/3/4 hogges — dogges — clogge 870/2/3.

ō is derived from

- Ags. ō (Mod. E., 00, 0E):
 scole 464 foles 743 good 1142 hode stode (pret.) 2977/9.
- 2. Oldnorth \bar{o} :

 rote bote 2211/12.
- 3. O.F. ō (Lt. ō):

pole — dole 466/7 repose — purpose 86/8. mode 1144. Impure are the following rhymes:

grope (grāpian) — sope (soppa) 1775/6 wrathe (wrað) — trouthe (treowðu) 1730/2.

By far the greatest number of the rhymes in the "Pastime" are formed by suffixes of French and Latin origin, a fact which makes Hawes' rhyme poorer than Lydgate's.

These terminations still preserve the O.F. accentuation.

té (Lt. tatem). This suffix appears in our text (W3) with few exceptions as TY (TIE, TYE), but TE is still preserved in many cases in WW1. By the following rhymes we can conclude that Hawes himelf read and wrote $t\dot{e}$, the sound strongly resembling that of i(y) and thus we can explain the great irregularity with which the earlier printers indifferently put TE and TY (TIE). Compare:

WWI and T4: dignitie — beautie — certaintie 37/9/40. W3 has ye for 1E.

WW3 humilite — be — degree 107/9/10.

T4, W3 humilitie — be — degree

WW1, T4 and W3 beauty — degree — amitie 366/8/9.

WWI and T4 plenty — deyntie — humylite 443.

W3 plentye — dainty — humilitie ,,

WWI and T4 aucthoryte - congruyte 461/2. aucthoritve — congruitie W٤ WWI antiquite -- humanyte 484/6. T_4 antiquytie - humanite ... antiquitie - humanitie ,, W٤ WWI and T4 vtilite - iniquyte - certainte 562.

vtilitye - iniquitie - certaintye 4, 5. That TE has been changed in W3 by the printer is obvious, while T₄ under the same strong tendency to write TIE (ty)

endeavoured to copy faithfully from WW1, thus showing the strongest irregularity of the three editions.

TE also rhymes with E in:

he 1737, kne 1366, se 1381, degre 1476, fre 2060 - words which in Modern English would also rhyme with TY.

Very frequently Hawes also rhymes the following suffixes: -tion-ion (in old romances: ioun).

> Here again we find that WW1 respectively Hawes himself, adheres to the form cion, common in Chaucer and Lydgate, while W3, in many cases, adopts the more modern form tion.

Compare:

WWI and W3 particion — description 27/8. contemplacion — mancion 29/31. WWI and T₄ nacyon — relacyon 230/1. W٤ nacion - relation. WWI, T4 relacion - oblacion, 391/2. relation -- oblation W٤ WWI, T4 demonstration — dominacion 414/6. W٤ demonstration - domination construccyon — intelleccion — moraliza-WWI, T4 cion 541/3/4. W٤ construction — intellection — moralizacion etc., etc.

—ION: visyon — facyon 69/70.

question — abusyon — reason, etc. 632/5/6.

-TION and ION, are dissyllabic suffixes.

-ABLE: pérduráble - váriáble - déceyuáble 30/2/3.

It occurs also in v. 658, 888, 890/1, 965/6, 967/9, 1149/51, etc.

—IBLE: intelligible — impossible 83/4.

horrible — extinguyssyble 573/4.

See also v. 667/9/70, 916/7.

—AUNCE: continuaunce — pleăsaûnce — doubtaûnce 58/60/61. See also v. 176/8, 314/5, 330/2, 363/4, 370/1, 407/9, 422/4/5, 492/4/5, 575/7, 681/3/4, etc.

—ENCE: presence — excellence — preminence 121/3/4. See also 149/51/2, 251/2, 429/31/32, 512/14, 520/2/3, 552/3, 613/4, etc.

-AGE: ymáge - vságe 48/9. v. 265/6, 1094/6/7, 1108/10/11.

—TUDE (UDE): similitude — pulchritude 22/4.
Also v, 50/2, 365/7, 692/3, 752, 883/5, etc.

-URE: portrayture — measure, 72/4. And v. 114/6/7, 160/1, 202/3, 205/7/8, 496/7, 664/65, 751/3, 876/8, 954/6/7, etc.

-OURE (OUR): fauoure - amoure - succoure 128/30/31, emperour - floure 3224/5. See v. 338/40/1, 386/8, 723/5/6.

-MENT (ENT): éxcěllént — splendént 41/2. See v. 56, 232/4/5, 282/4/5, 289/91/92, 342/3, 412/3, 428/30, 548/50/51, 559/60, 687/9.

-ous (101s) pronounced as in M. E. es: daungerous - précious 34/5. See also 198/200, 209/10, 225/7, 352/4/5, 359/60, 415/7/8, 491/3.

-ous rhymes with us in

Melizius — vs — rigórious 163/5/7.

Phébus — ténebrus 300/1 (comp. tenebrous 656), ódiŏus—thus 361/2, carbuncles — solácious — 100s is monosyllabic.

-ESSE [NESS(E)-NES] rhymes with NES[S], (ags. ness):

Godesse — worthines[s] 169/71;

Herculès — prowes — witnes 177/9/10.

Comp. also v. 190/2, 197/9, 246/9, 295/7, 303/5/6, 316/18, 324/6/7, 408/10/11, 436, 489, 510, 569, etc.

- -ISE: deuise guise arise 184/6/7, 737/9/40.
- -ICE: justice preiudyce 827/9, 891/3/4.
- —ATE (1ATE): annunciate breuiate 685/6, 695/7/8, 702/4/5, 762/3, 923/4, 1135/7, etc., Lydgăte, rhymes with trânslăte, v. 1282/4.
- —AL (ALL): spéciáll origynáll generáll 471/3/4, 534/6/7, 608/9, etc.
 - -IVE (IUE): substantyue adiectyue, 531/2.
 - —Y (YE): This poor rhyme occurs very seldom in Chaucer, it becomes more frequent in Lydgate and very common in Hawes: chiualrye victorye 174/5, slogardy glotony contrary, 506/89.

See also: 373/5/6, 538/9, 547/9, 555/7/8, 583/5/6, 636/7, 643/4, 666/8, 706/7, 744/6/7, 755/6, 853/4, 884/6/7, 902/3, 939/41, 960/2.

With this y also rhymes the pronoun "I" in 1532/3: I - lady.

Hawes, like his master, sometimes rhymes Kentish e with with i; compare:

set — profite (WW1 T4 profet) 183/5, Helene — Polexyne, 1702/4, Geminy (WW1 Gemine) — mutabilitie (WW1 mutabilite) 1910/11

but the peculiar Lydgatian rhyme IRE — ERE (See Schick Chapter V., § 3) does not appear in the "Pastime."

Old Romance words in OUN, toune, adoun, renoun (in Lydgate and Chaucer) OU == Fr. Ou—have in our text taken the modern form own(e): renowne, adowne, towne 170/2/3.

The spirans gh before T is still sounded, ight only rhymes with itself in:

myght — ryght 62/63, bryght — lyght — aryght 221/3/4, syght — ryght 256/7, etc.,

the only instance where YGHT seems to rhyme with IT is in verses 254, 485, 772, 1220 where it rhymes with *delite*, which word WWI already writes *delyght* in analogy to the other forms, thus proving that GH was sounded.

Doubtful or impure are the following rhymes:

slomber — wonder 92/4 rethoricyan - began 804/5

Canterbury — merye 1273/4 Ypolyte — Menelape — certaintie. Probably: Ypolyté — Menelapé -- certainté. 1703/5/6. truely — trusty 1616/17. grette — dulcette 1973/4.

Poor rhymes are also formed in Hawes as well as in Lydgate by a repetition of the same words; see v. 50/52: altitude — altitude 398/99: euerychone — not one 1227/29: write write 67/8: emispery – pery.

"Binnenrhyme" exists in v. 1250/51: sake — take.

With regard to the *number* of syllables that form the rhyme, we are still uncertain in many cases where final E is concerned; we shall see however in the next chapter that Hawes follows the strong tendency to drop this E and, we may assume by the following rhymes, that he has also done so at the end of his verse:

colour — odoure — floure 9/11/12 odour — licoure — floure 338/40/1. sette — nette 85/7, set — profite 183/5. set — get — let 499/501/2. winde – behind — mynde 104/5. land — sande — stand 212/4/5. aboute — without 216/7. say — waye — journey 240/2/3. obey — gaye — arave 457/9/60. daye — may 1677/78. departe — hart 260/2. melodye — armony 286/7. plenty — dainty — humilitie 443/5/6. was — passe 36/38, etc.

Wayland is more consistent in dropping final E than Wynkyn de Worde respectively Hawes himself, thus showing that the uncertainty which still prevailed at the beginning of the 16th century had disappeared about 1550.

Undoubted monosyllabic or strong rhyme exists in verses 1/3, 6/7, 23/5/6, 36/8, 55/6, 62/3, 64/6, 93/5/6, 100/2, 132/3, etc.

As monosyllabics we have to read the Fr. suffixes — ous, te (ty), — aunt, — al, — er (ier).

Dissyllabic or weak rhyme is comparatively rare; it occurs in v. 13/4, 65/7/8, 239/41, 384/5, 400/402 741/2, etc.

The O.F. suffixes — ion, — age, — ace, — aile, — aunce, — ence, — tude — ure, — ine — able; ib'e and oure, I

believe, were treated by Hawes as dissyllabic rhymes. (Compare p. 49 ff.)

On the whole our poet shows much less skill in the management of his rhyme than Chaucer and hardly improves on Lydgate.

CHAPTER VI.

Hawes's treatment of final e, and e in unaccentuated syllable.

It has been noticed in the preceding chapter that our text from Wayland's edition, 1554, shows a more modern character than WW1 or T4; I shall therefore in the following analysis go back to the original as much as possible, taking my examples from the first edition, respectively from T4 as represented in the footnotes; a comparison with the corresponding forms in our own text will help to solve certain doubts.

§1. Declension of Substantives.

A. Strong Masculines and Neuters.

(e sounded—ë, not sounded—e.)

Nom. and Acc. Sing. according to Ags. without ending:

way 34, 37, head 88, 90, month 2773. sea 212, man 207,

path 15, sheld 5062, etc.

but e (not sounded) appears in cases like waye 29, 56, 63, winde 104, 261, clothe 414, necke 5040, breste 5041, grounde 17, witte 2780, worde 3459, sworde 5062.

Ten Brink (§ 199) admits for Chaucer an inorganic E in zwaye, the same does Schick for Lydgate, but in our case, I think, to judge from the following rhymes

say-waye-journey 240/42/43

and again v. 379/81

saye-away 1818/19

we must attribute this E to the inconsistency of the writer or printer.

Gen. Sing. ends in Es or s, the E is not sounded:

mannes 577, 777, dayes 243, 1219, winters 3472.

Dative is as already in middle English, Chaucer and Lydgate

like Nom. and Acc., without ending, but the same inconsistency reigns as in the first cases, comp.—

- (a). no ending: way 198, 204, lyght 223, hyll 268, 276, breath 12, path 18, 20, head 90, death 137, 147, cloth 357, golde 5038.
- (b). with e: waye 254, 257, daye 98, dethe 187, golde 113, 214, monthe 342, roufe 448, lande 3475, Kente 3482.

In dale 270, gate 323 the E may be a remnant of the old Dative. The indifference of this E and the writer's inconsistency are also clearly shown in the rhymes

85/7: sette — nette and 2011/13: set — net — get.

Plural ends in Es or s:

In Chaucer and Lydgate, this Es as a rule forms a syllable, in Hawes the E is sounded about 58 times out of 100 cases where Es appears.

Thus we must read

wayës 43, thingës 32, 195, byrdës 286, wordës 278, bemëş 65, cloudës 68, 98, wyndës 299, stonës 346, 352, etc.

E is silent in

greyhoundes 106, 128, heades 398, wordes 98, monthes 313, bemes 3529, etc.

We generally find **Syncope** in polysyllabic words, but it is rarely indicated by s only, as in

greyhounds 2888.

Ags. 1 and N stems have preserved their termination as e: gryppe 5044, meadowe 8, sonne 125, mete 871.

B. Strong Feminines.

Nom. Sing. ends, as a rule, in e, this E is still sounded in Lydgate (ë). It is derived from Ags. u in short â, wa and N stems; in stems with a long vowel it is added in analogy to the other cases. (Ten Brink, § 207.)

slouthe 274, flore 351, worlde 142, mynde 263, mare 382, tale 2768, loue 3517, nose 2752.

The inconsistency is again shown in cases like

slouth 88, nyght 96, hall 345, trouth 2286, 2819, and in words ending in NES:

bitternes, swetenes 2302/3.

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Genitive with ending Es, formed in analogy to the Masculines, is not represented by an example in our text.

Dat. and Acc. end in e:

slouthe 280, worlde 126 hande 28 36, mynde 118, 250 soule 3466 youthe 2155, trouthe 2856, sorowe 3022.

The same and other words appear without ending: world 3494 hand 4062 youth 149 sorow 2287 strength 207 worthynes 171.

Plural ends in Es or s and is treated like the plural of strong masculines as:

- (a) ës (E sounded) in myndës 183 dedës 258 pyppës 313 brystlës 5046 lyppës 2845.
- (b) es (E silent):

 myndes I medes 259 sterres 221 sorowes 2247.
- C. N-stems (Weak Declension).
- A. Masculines:

Nom. sing. ends in e (e silent):
ende 35, boke 1268 mone 2073 name 3484 starre 101.

Obl. also has e:

lodestarre 5030 boke 1238 name 122.

Plural ends in ës or es (s):

- (a) ës (E sounded) in : bokës 2994.
 - (b) es (E silent) in most cases:

 bokes 189, 1267, names 114, 117 tymes 59, windowes 347

 sterres 221 husbondes 3496.
 - foot (fote) still preserves the plural fote in verses 51, 75, 2497 where, as in Chaucer, it is used to denote a measure; the ordinary plural is fete 4101. (See Ten Brink § 214).
 - B. Feminines.
 - Nom., Dat. and Acc. sing. end in e which letter in many cases has also been dropped. Compare e in: herte 841, erthe 2647, sunne 283, 296 wyse 136, 312

no ending in: hert 83, 232, earth 2687 tong 616.

Plural ends in ës or es (s):

- (a) ës: tonguës 121, 138 hertës 1265.
- (b) es: tongues 101, 140, 756 doughters 449.

- The word "lady" appears in most cases as lady (without E) v. 120, 235, 241, etc.; as ladye in v. 100. Plur. ladyes (ladies) 1271.
- C. Neuters: Sing. eye ear.

 Plur. eyes 2318, 2167, eres 2724, 2759. The old plur. is preserved in eyen 2215, 2316, 2321, 2724, etc. eyene (N before vowel) 2743.
- D. Nouns of French origin.
- O.F. nouns preserve their original final E; it is not sounded within the verse: fortune 19, chaunce 19, face 25, ymage 25, 85, fame 40, picture 50, iaboure 86, etc.
- O.F. RE in floure, toure, is still preserved (in many cases) in WWI v. 14, 79, 617, 1409, 1924, etc.; it becomes ER in Wayland's edition, v. 312, 617, 1409, 1924, etc. Compare also WWI membre 2695, W3 member.

Genitive Sing. ends in

- (a) es: poetes 758, 1211.
- (b) es: fortunes 364.
- (c) s: in polysyllables: commens 182 journeys 279 Auroras 281.

Words ending in s take no ending in the Gen. sing.:

Zepherus 12. Venus 392.

Saturnus 285 probably stands for Gen. Saturnes (285).

The *Plural* ending is the same as that of Teutonic nouns, namely:

- (a) ës in: gyauntes 205 fumes 605 partes 638 rockes 948, thyramtes 951 termes 1218, etc.
- (b) es: actes 177, estates 190, serpentes 209, storyes 209, poetes 835.
- (c) s only: monsters 178, paynyms 191, dragons 308, turrets 309, rivers 337, pillers 352, metals 413, mirrours 604, vapours 606, poets 660, etc.

Syncope is impossible, when Es is preceded by E, SS, S, SH, CH, G, or A, muta cum liquida. (See Ten Brink § 227).

vices 311, spices 343, sentences 892, verses 1077, branches 1125, ymages 2905.

§ 2. Adjectives.

Adjectival final E is still sounded in Chaucer and Lydgate; in Hawes the sound has disappeared and in many cases also the letter; distinction between strong and weak inflection no longer exists. Compare strong and weak adjectives in the following examples:

Strong Declension:

- (a) e (silent) remains in:
 fayre 4, hye 158, sharpe 45, olde 77, greye 97, swyfte 123
 lowe 158, softe 2779, colde 2779, grete 2982, etc.
- (h) ë is dropped:

 right, wrong 23, hard 34, long 55, mery 65, glad 119,

 strong 164, heuy 2779, swift 104, myst 2778, great 52, 59,

 good 154, yong 4126, etc.

The same forms occur in the Plural:

- (a) hye 27, blewe 76, redde 98, swete 150, white 105, outwarde 2736.
- (b) tender 14, mery 65, bryght 101, high 4207, brennyng 121, flaming 140, steadfast 4057, etc.

Weak adjectives are treated with the same inconsistency and irregularity by the printer; in most cases, however, E has disappeared.

The weak adjective occurs:

- (1) after the definite article-
 - (a) with e: active 56, fresshe, 1401, sweete 2757, grete 3008, connynge 2803, trewe 1657, lowe 3739, whyte, blacke 2740, etc.
 - (b) without ending:

 right 28, straight 29, last 35, gaspyng 87, great 93, 94,

 hardy 169, ugly 2472, good 4204, heuy and lyght 2740, etc.
- (2) after a demonstrative (in very rare examples):
 - (a) with e: true 3563.
 - (b) without ending e: goodly 50, famous 419, unhap 3517.
- (3) after a possessive pronoun:
 - (a) with e: fayre 2, whole 88, false 4285.
 - (b) without e: busy 117, great 151, lusty 3000, frosty 4218, woful 1658.

Plural: great 139, lovely 2096, swete 2167, yonge 4173. .

Polysyllabic words, especially compound adjectives with suffix ful, are already in Lydgate without flexion. (See Schick, Temp. of Gl.—Krausser, Compl. of Bl. Kh.)

Adjectives of O.F. origin preserve their final E as e:

clere 4, 68, sodayne 15, aromatike 11, noble 184, etc. la belle Pucell 4089, 4241.

la velle Pucell 4089, 42

but bell Pucell 31, 4282.

§ 3. Numerals.

Cardinal Numbers:

two 26, 27, thre 394, 399, foure 335/37, fyue 638, 640, sixe 2497, seuen 405, 413, eight 527, 537, nyne 51, 75, — twaine (old masc. form) 2189, fiftene 2862.

Ordinal Numbers:

- —fyrst 448, 715, second 764*, seconde 778, thyrd 1002, 2646, fourth 701, 1003, fifte 695, fifth 2654, seuent 2661.
- -secondly 652, thirdly 666, thirdely 3095, fourtely 680.
- -ones (once) 2208, twise 2208.

§ 4. Pronouns.

The pronouns show the modern forms throughout our text; final ë in *oure*, *youre*, *here*—so common in Chaucer and Lydgate, exists no longer. Compare:

1. Personal pronouns.

Sing. I pers. Nom. 17, 14, 15. Dat. Acc. me 22, 63, 273.

,, II ,, ,, thou 2064. ,, ,, thee 3452.

,, III ,, ,, he 32, 3460, she 127, 129, it 91, 130. Dat. Acc. him 40, 2071, her 3477/79, it 3640.

Plural I pers. Nom. we 916, 2064. Dat. Acc. us 165, 915.

" II " " *ye* 2506, *you* 2000.

Dat. Acc. you 3539/46,

" III pers. (all genders) Nom. they 192, 208. Dat. Acc. them 112, 167, 189.

In the same way as Chaucer uses ik for I pers. I as a

^{*} In our text: seconde.

characteristic mark of provincialism (see Ten Brink § 250 Anm. 1), so Hawes introduces with his low character Godfrey Gobilyue, the form ich v. 3454 ff. icham for ich, am, etc.

2. Possessive Pronouns.

(a) Before a noun in all cases, sing. and plur.:

Sing. I pers. my 19, 88, 25 — mine (before a vowel) 2095.

,, II ,, thy 1047, 1089.

,, III ,, his 13, 65, 167, her 224, 128, 122, neut. hys 528.

Plur. I pers. our 67, 1264.

,, II ,, your 133, 243, 1467.

" III " there (theyr) 113, 114, 1467.

(b) Succeeding the noun:

Sing. I pers. mine 2087, 2189.

" II " yours 2089.

,, III ,, his — hers 3718.

3. Demonstrative Pronouns.

For all cases and genders:

Sing. this 28, 29, 48, 151 that 128, 186.

Plur. these 49, 106, 117 those —

In "for the nones" (nonce) 5183 we have according to Ten Brink (§ 252) a remnant of the old Dative (Saem) — "for them ones."

4. Interrogative Pronouns.

Acc. Sing. whiche 44 - what 129, 908.

5. Relative Pronouns.

For all genders, sing. and plural:

whiche 9, 12, 18, 61, etc., or which 94.

that (for things) 115, 358.

that (for persons) 201, 206, 389.

For persons also is used:

Nom. sing. who 31, 38, 1209.

Dat. whome 130, 220. whom 468.

Gen. sing. whose 160, 162. plur. 207.

self (selfe) is still treated as a substantive.

Sing. my selfe 54, 46, 278. hym selfe 168.

Plur. WW1 them selfe - W3 them selves 759.

Indefinite pronouns also have no declension:

some 155 all (al) 134, 32, 153. nought 84 — noughte 2701, any 23, 101. eche Nom. 1203, eche obl. 1194, 1197, etc.

§ 5. Adverbs

The greatest number of adverbs are formed from adjectives (of German and French origin) by adding Lv, the preceding E is indifferent, compare:

clerely 115, mekely 557, shortely 558, truly 129, certainly 2271, shortly 979.

Old adverbial E, still sounded in Chaucer and Lydgate, is dropped, either both in sound and writing or in sound only; compare:

forth 7, 29, 23, forthe 58, among 14, 1924, amonge 2101, oft 16, 111, ofte 1858, often 59, also: out 102, along 27, without 7, 68, right 55, 63, through 13. against etc., but faste 2001, adowne 85, behinde 105, againe 139, 147, nowe 145, sore 95, etc.

Adverbs formed from adjectives by the adverbial E are rare: fayre 3773, gaye 73,

amyddes 573, nedes 507, 3578, etc., are old Genitives. Mod. E. since (Ags. sið siððan) appears in the old forms:

sith 1329, sithe 2184, sithen 2187.

§ 6. Composition.

Unaccentuated E in composition is treated like final E; elision prevails in Hawes, while in Lydgate it is still sounded.

Here again our printer shows great irregularity and inconsequence. Compare:

parfytenes 248, judgemente 550, darkenes 571, outteraunce 788, lodestarre 2583, nedeful 2554, truely 1539, clerely 115, 1360, mekely 557, shortely 558, etc., truly 129, goodly 50, clenly 1907, prudently 636, depnes 2527, greatnes 2523, sadnes 2568, gladnes 2569.

E seems to be sounded in exceptional cases like:

likenes, 719, pryuely 1198, swetely 1718, quickely, 1905, etc.

§ 7. The Verb.

In the formation of the tenses of strong and weak verbs, Hawes follows the same principles as his predecessors (Comp. Ten Brink § 127 ff.) The great difference between the language of our poet and his master's will become sufficiently clear by a study of the terminations, showing the further treatment of the final E.

I. Infinitive generally ends in e (silent), (Lydg.ë): passe 38, slake 47, rule 91, line 161, come 202, kepe 244, drinke 518, etc.

E is still sounded in rare cases like:

learne 80, shyne 115, shewe 365.

The infinite appears already without ending in:

bring 22, tell 40, 132, dwell 133, spout 336, stand 215, depart 260, tech 474 (WW1.)

Infinitives in EN, yet frequent in Lydgate, have become rare; neuen 406 (rhyme — seven).

Gerund is like infinitive; e in:

to knowe 21, to make 46, to avayle 65, to ryse 37, to eschue, 82, to breake 98, to reade 117.

ë in endure 188, eate 518; without ending:

to rest 273, to tell 132, to disnull 720, etc.

2. Indicative present:

I pers. in e:

have 8, 136, maye 253, knowe 159, 2079, make 231, praye 3452, thanke 2021, trowe 3461

no ending: pray 4095, trow 2055.

II pers. in est or — st:

lyest 3462, dost 3453

III pers. in ETH in accordance with Lydgate:

showeth 165, beareth 180, appereth 214, dwelleth 218,

chaungeth 2073, endeth 770, etc.

Contractions: hath 1999, 2001, doth 17, 176, saith 2142.

The ETH is absorbed in the T at the end of a stem, as in list

993, 1114. Northern forms in BS do not exist in our text.

The Plural ends in e:

fayne 155, lye 204, shyne 228, thinke 1224, 2048, knowe 2062, mete 2074, love 2075, give 2155.

A remnant of the old plural ending we have in:

devoureth 206, hath 2027.

Subjunctive, singular and plural in e, or without this ending:

rede 751, lye 755, depaint 755, list 2048, 2057.

Imperative, of weak and strong verbs, singular and plural, with or without ending e:

- (a) recorde 148, walke 254, kepe 257 love 2065, exile 2071, beholde 2167.
- (b) distyll 616, remember 191, se 2167, go 2065.

Present participle.

ends in YNG (ING):

shynyng 2, encensyng 11, lyghtnyng 67, beholdyng 72, 271, rydyng 99, rennyng 104, teachyng 167, makyng 286, etc.

ynge appears sometimes when the following word begins with a vowel:

. . tossynge on 267, musynge over 268.

but foloweng I 643, encresynge ever 668, and encensyng out 867, etc.

Yerbal nouns have YNG: connyng 717, musyng 48, shotyng 156, drawyng 156, learnyng 372, 479, comyng 431, etc.

ynge: connynge 469, 472, understandynge 844, workynge 2824, growynge 2836, etc.

Strong Preterit.

Ot strong verbs the preterit already appears in the modern form; the final E (sounded in Lydgate) is preserved as e or has disappeared altogether. Compare:

Sg. I., pers., founde 15, behelde 17, 43, sawe 18, 24, stode 54, toke 63, sate 273, hearde 93, 297, drewe 302, 1269, tolde 328, etc.

began 46, 52, thought 75, 277, guod 134.

II pers.—

III pers. came 95, rode 126, 381, founde 150, wonne 175, knewe 439, toke 371, 379, mette 393, slewe 404, etc.

thought 69, caught 88, began 98, found 156, set 231, brought 344, met 364, left 399, wrought 403, taught 521, etc.

Plural ends in e:

wonne 192, shone 294, knewe 497, 2177, 666, are 3502, lefte 3188, made 3192.

but: brought 3193.

Weak Preterit.

I, III pers. sing. and plur. end (a) in ED. This termination is sounded — ed in about 60 cases out of 100, where it occurs. Compare:

ioked 16, mused 44, 109, suffred 112, leaped 111, appeared 114, longed 124, asked 129, reigned 162, dwelled 201, etc. but: walked 7, vayled 89, loked 96, 288, reygned 477, answered 530, herkened 520, etc.

(b) in TE, DE, resp. T, D:

made 95, woulde 181, coulde 297, wente 3479, hadde 666,

went 14, 20, 23, might 202, ment 343, sent 456, did 5,

117, had 4, 59.

II pers. in EST, ST.

Past participle.

- 1. Strong verbs in e, or without this ending:
 - (a) spredde 174, gone 262, sette, 2072, tolde, 1143, 1192, kepte 2147.
 - (b) wrought 346, caught 3582.
- 2. Strong, past part, in EN:

written 36, 77, 189, comen 433, 3476, ben 2027, striken 979, forgotten 3516, knowen 134, blowen 136, take 1251 for taken.

Weak, past part., ends in — ED: this ending is treated the same as ED of the weak preterit.

ed in: entred 4, used 18, stretched 26, fauoured 52, applied 90, denied 91, beloued 159, enameled 216, oppressed 263, hanged 356, etc.

ed in: enuyroned 100, disfigured 205, called 354 — heard 369, gargyld 307.

The prefix 1 (Y) so frequent in Chaucer and Lydgate, occurs only in a few exceptional cases: iclipped 135, 315, 421,

ituned 313, ychesyled 319, ybent 3797, itaken 4658, ywrought 5381. Contractions are:

set 232, put 407, dredde 1916, shent 2051, wedde 3460, 3476.

By the above given examples it will have become evident, that Stephen Hawes, unlike Chaucer and Lydgate, does not, as a rule, sound final E, or E in unaccentuated syllables; he still however adheres to the old treatment of the vowel in most cases in the endings Es and ED and that probably under the strong influence of his master's metre, which he imitates.

Ellis (On Early English Pronunciation, I.v., p. 405) regards the time of Caxton as the great turning point in the pronunciation of the English language; our investigation on the language of Hawes tends to confirm that statement and also Schick's opinion (Temp. of Gl. p. LXXIII); but the uncertainty and irregularity which prevailed in the language of his predecessors, had, with Hawes, to a certain degree subsided and given way to the modern state of inflexions and vocabulary.

Thus with regard to language Hawes is the first poet who passes the threshold of modern literature, while by the choice of his subject and ideas he still clings to the mediæval school to which his masters belong. Had he been a poet of greater originality, he probably would have advanced still further by following his own inclination and that of his time.

CHAPTER VII.

THE Sources of "The Pastime."

§ 1. Hawes's learning in general.

As already remarked (p. 23) our poet regards John Lydgate, monk of Bury as the chief source of all his learning (see v. 1319), as the model and ideal which he strives to imitate but without hope ever to reach that "most dulcet spring of famous rethoryke" (v. 1317). In the dedication of the poem to King Henry VII (v. 47), the poet says that he wrote this "fained fable . . . To followe the trace and all the perfitenes of my

master Lydgate with due exercise"—and indeed Hawes proves to have had a thorough knowledge of all his master's as well as Chaucer's and Gower's writings (see v. 1261 ff.) and many a line or whole stanza bears strong resemblance to some corresponding verses in his predecessors', as will be seen in the notes to our text. But our poet's learning must be found superficial and no reader of his time can have derived much profit from his lessons in verse; his knowledge of the seven sciences, although it fills more then half of the lengthy poem, is just what might be expected from a short study of Chaucer's Astrolabe and Boethius, Gower's Confessio Amantis and Lydgate's It is possible but not certain that Hawes also writings. studied Brunetto Latini's Tesoro, that mediæval Encyclopedia, written in France about 1265, and of which several French. versions must have existed in England at our poet's time. He himself acknowledges his want of learning and makes excuses to his masters, giving a very plausible explanation:

"I am but yonge, it is to me obtuse" (v. 2864) — although he was thirty-one years of age at the time when he wrote this.

The display of learning in "the Pastime" however proves a characteristic feature of his time, that knowledge of the Trivium and Quadrivium was no longer confined to the clergy only, that the barrier between that class and the nobility had fallen.

Our poet seems to be well read in French fabliaux and romance literature—proofs are given in verses 1758-59 (see note) and Godfrey Gobilive's illustrations of women's wickedness against men (v. 3514 ff.)—but we have no reason to accept Warton's and Th. Ward's suggestion, that the beginning of our poem indicates Hawes' familiarity with the Provençal school, especially with Raimond Vidal's Castia gilos. The same feature of the hero walking in a meadow appears in many of the allegoric poems of that time, so in the Romaunt of the Rose (v. 132, 1414), Lydgate's Complaint of the Black Knight (v. 28) and in the Court of Sapience; and as Hawes seems to have conceived his whole plan for his poem from this lastmentioned allegory as will be seen in the next §, it is more probable that he adopted this motif direct from his master.

The Court of Sapience is indeed the source for the first half of our poem, which will become evident by the following analysis of Lydgate's allegory, taken from a blackletter copy by Wynkyn de Worde (1510) at the Brit. Museum.*

§ 2. Lydgate's "Court of Sapience" as the chief source of the "Pastime of Pleasure."

Even the monk's prologue may be traced in the Pastime, compare notes to verses: 610-25, 2562, 4611, 5198, 57,46.

The poem itself begins with the well-known dream motive, which Hawes has dropped. The hero, identified with the poet as in the Pastime, walks out of "the wilderness of dreadful worldly occupation" through a beautiful meadow which is watered by a clear river, named "quiete" (quietness). There he meets a beautiful lady, Dame Sapience, who is accompanied by her two sisters (compare v. 100 ff.) Intelligence and Science. The hero approaches these ladies and at once on his knees craves instruction. (Comp. v. 132).

In the following—the first book—which forms a distinct part of the poem, Lydgate gives an allegory by itself, which, with exception of stanza 53 in v. 3595, has not been imitated by Hawes. It is a disputation between the four daughters of a king (God), named *Mercy*, *Peace*, *Trouth* and *Righteousness*, on behalf of a criminal servant (Adam) who is to suffer death.

In the second book the hero is brought to the mansion of Dame Sapience. The echo of the description of this and other palaces will be found in "the Pastime" almost everywhere where such descriptions occur (comp. v. 350, 5194, notes). Lady Sapience then begins her teaching, giving her short reflections on rivers, their qualities and influence on earth, and thereby also mentions Tigris and Euphrates (comp. v. 339 note). Then follow different chapters on fishes, flowers, herbs and spices (comp. v. 343, 2454), trees, birds—in short, a natural history.

^{*} A new edition of the "Court of Sapience" by Dr. Borsdorf is promised by Schick (Temp. of Glass, p. XIII).

From this tower the hero is led into another palace "shining bright and full of solace, delyte, lust and pride." It has seven towers and is situated on a "rock." On the gate is written:

"This is the way to vertue and to grace,
To connynge, knowledge, wyt and wysedome,
This is the way vnto the heuenly palace, etc.

(Comp. v. 29 ff.) Sapience and the poet are there received by seven ladies, named Faith, Hope, Charite, Prudence, Fortitude, Temperance and Righteousness (comp. v. 4805); each of them is again accompanied by a host of attendants, many of which were adopted by Hawes (v. 2914, 4368). Dame Sapience is then joined by "deuyne Theologye" and her attendants—the same which Graund Amour meets in the tower of Doctrine (v. 449, 540 ff.)

"There was gramer grounde of scyence all,
And Dyaletyke, full of pure knowynge,
Dame Rethoryke, scyence imperiall,
Dame Arsmetrik, scyence in proporcyonynge,
Geomtrye that mesureth every thynge,
The lady musyke and Astronomye,
The ladyes seven sewed theologye."

With the hero we are led into a court, there dwells *Philosophy* attended by three ladies: *Naturall* or *Dame Physica*; princess *Morall* or *Ethica*, and *Logyca* or *Dame Racional* (comp. v. 576 ff.) Here are already assembled "*Millesius*, one of the sages seuen," Plato and Socrates (comp. v. 2808). Leaving *Philosophy* we come into the second court.

"the cure of whiche had dame Intelligence:
With halle chambers, with toures hye and good,
Full of all lust and heuenly complacence,
There was depaynted with all reverence
The heuen hys blysse and who dwelleth in it."

(Comp. v. 352, 607, 614, etc.)

In this place we must be ruled by intelligence "when our fine wittes begin to fayle." Comp. v. 2724, 2768, note).

In the third court.

"Whose blysse, beaute, lust and parfite noblesse, All erthly place passeth a thousande folde, The loye of it with tongue may not be tolde." (Comp. v. 605.)

The hero meets *Theology*, who is teaching some pupils from a bible, which she holds in her right hand. Here again appears *Dame Gramer* with four daughters: *Orthography*, *Ethimology*, "*Dyasyntastica* and *Prosodye*" (comp. v. 530-40, notes), amongst her pupils we find: *Moyses*, *Cadmus*, *Carmenta*, (v. 483), *Donate* (see v. 522, note) and "*Aristotyll*."

From thence we are led by the poet into the parlour of of *Dame Dyaletica*, who is already surrounded by many clerks; " *Tullius is the chosen spouse vnto this lady fre*." (Comp. v. 1105.)

In another chamber is sitting Dame Rethoryke, whom we find praised here in similar terms as in Hawes v. 611 ff. Lydgate writes:

"Dame Rethoryke moder of eloquence,
Most elegant, most pure and glorious,
With lust, delyte, blysse, honour and reuerence,
Within her parlour fresshe and precyous
Was set a quene, whose speche delycyous,
Her audytours gan to all ioye convert,
Eche worde of her myght rauyshe euery herte."

We are next introduced to Lady Arsmetrike; many of the ideas found here Hawes employs in his chapter on Astronomy (see notes to v. 2633-36, 2640 and 2668.) In the following "Tractatus de Geometria," Lydgate gives a few results of measuring the earth and different stars (comp. v. 2521, 2530/36 ff.) The next lesson to which we have to attend at the "Court of Sapience" is that of Dame Musyke, who lives a little apart from her sisters "in a place of blys." Hawes follows his master very closely in his corresponding chapter (see v. 1413 ff. 1472 ff. notes.) It is interesting to notice that Lydgate and his pupil have dwelt on this subject even more superficially than on the other sciences, both poets seem to have known little of music.

Lydgate leaves this lady after a few stanzas, saying:

"All this she taught, but for I must be breue
In this matter, I wyll no further trace,
For thoughe I wolde, therto I have no space;
But who so lust of Musyke to wyt,
For very grounde to Boece I hym remyt."

Of Lydgate's next chapter on Astronomy we are reminded in verses 2629 ff., our poet enters less deeply upon the subject than his master but receives from him his ideas for Chapter XXIII and XXXV. Having passed the whole school, the hero is received by Dame Faith, who leads him

"Vnto a tower solempne and glorious,
Depaynted fresshe wyth colours precyous
And in a parlour full solacyous," etc.

(Comp. v. 1464.) where the twelve apostles are sitting The poem then finishes with a recitation of the Christian Creed, the ten commandments, the seven "deedly synnes, the five wittes," etc., etc., in the same way as Hawes continues his allegory after having really reached the end with Chapter XXXIX.

How much Hawes borrowed from the "Court of Sapience," can only become absolutely clear by a careful comparison of the full texts, but I think that this short analysis and the corresponding notes will suffice to prove Hawes's strong indebtedness to Lydgate for at least Chapters I-XXV. Our poet in fact adopts his master's system of education for the hero of his allegory and sends him to the convent school at Bury. Having acquired all the knowledge he can obtain there, the pupil is sent to the school of arms and is there fully equipped as a knight according to the poet's ideal, which combines learning and wisdom with ability, bravery and righteousness. Endued with these qualities, Graund Amour faces and overcomes the dangers and temptations of this world.

§ 3. Different Sources.

The next important source to be considered for "The

Pastime" are the Virgil Stories. How well known they were and how widely spread during the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in all European languages will best appear to the reader by a study of Comparetti's "Virgilio nel medio evo," Livorno, 1872, translated by Dütschke, Leipzig, 1875. To Stephen Hawes they were probably known in the collected form of a book, entitled "Les faits mervilleaux de Virgille." Brunet ("Manuel,") mentions five editions all of which appeared about the time of our poet. The first English translation of that very popular book was printed at Antwerp, by John Doesborcke (without date, but before 1530); this book was reprinted by M. Utterson, 1812 (only 60 copies, one at the British Museum), and appeared again in W. J. Thoms' "Early English Prose Romances," vol. II., (second edition, 1858), the last reprint of the original is by Philomeste jun., Geneva, 1867.

Comparetti, at the end of vol. II, gives a rich selection of O.F. romances and other texts (Italian and German), containing the different stories, according to which Virgil as a sorcerer was supposed to have founded Naples and protected Rome against internal and external enemies by many wonderful works of magic. They speak of carved images, or statues made of metals most curiously worked which by magic's art were enabled to move and work. Under the influence of these descriptions Hawes seems to have created his images near and in the different palaces (See. v. 310, 1004, 2495, 2900, 2945.)

Perhaps the oldest and most popular of these stories is the one relating Virgil's love affair with the King's daughter and his revenge, which Hawes introduces into his allegory v. 3570 ff. — (see Comparetti vol. II., 215). An illusion is found in *Latini's* Tesoro, lib. II, chap. 89.

"Par femme fut adam decen

Et Virgile moque fu," etc.

Also in Eustache Deschamps (14th cent.)

"Par femme fut en la corbeille à Romme Virgile mis, dont ot molt de hontaige, Il n'est chose, que femme ne consume." See also Bertrand Desmoulins "Rosier des Dames" in "Recueil des poésies françaises" par Anaton de Montaiglon (p. 195).

The story also appears in a Rhyme Chronicle of Vienna as early as 1250, written by *Johan Enenkel* (compare Comparetti II., p. 221.) Hawes therefore may have been acquainted with this fable from more than one source. (See note 3450).

Another well known Old French fabliau our poet imitates in v. 3514 ff., the ridiculed hero of which is *Aristotle*. It is mentioned by Comparetti II, p. 108 ff., and exists as "Le lay d'Aristotle" by *H. d'Andeli in Barbazan Méon's* collection of "Fabliaux et Contes des poêtes français," etc., Nouvelle Edit. 1808, vol. III, p. 96.

This story also appears in Le Grand d'Aussy's Fabliaux, vol. I. p. 214, where it is also told of Hippocrate p 232, (Comparetti II. 109, note 2). Hawes must also have found an allusion in *Gower's* "Confessio Amantis," Book VIII. (Edit. Pauli III. p. 366). See note 3514.

To Chaucer our poet is indebted, as Ten Brink already remarks, for the creation of "Counsel," the friend to Grand Amour, who is an imitation of Troilus' friend Pandare (Comp. Skeat's Chaucer: "Troilus and Creseyde," v. 550 ff. with "Pastime," v. 1593 ff.)

A similar passage, where a friend offers to share the hero's trouble, with great persistency, occurs in *Occleve's* "De Reg. Principum" (Ed. Th. Wright, page 5).

The idea of the Court of Lady Venus (v. 3692 ff.) and the supplicants presenting bills is frequently met in the writings of Hawes' predecessors. Comp. Lydgate's "Temple of Glass," v, 49, 317 (note 3696); Gower's "Confessio Amantis" (Pauli III. p. 352: "Supplication vnto dame Venus,")

The description of the armour (v. 3319 ff.) is that of a true Christian, described by St. Paul, Eph. vi. It is found again in "The Faery Queen," B. 1, as the armour of the knight of the red cross, and in Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress," Chap. VIII. (Comp. note 3319). The Bible has also been the source for verses 2640—2668.

The character of Godfrey Gobilue is an imitation of "Wikked Tonge" in the "Romant of the Rose" (Chaucer, v. 3802, 3871).

The battle of Graund Amour with the monster of the seven metals (v. 5033 ff.) and the way in which Pallas procured to to him invulnerability, strongly reminds us of Jason's adventure and the capture of the golden fleece by the help of Medea, as Hawes must have found it described in *Lydgate's* "Life and Death of Hector" (printed by T. Heywood, 1614, fol.) and *Troybook* (printed by Rich. Pynson, 1513) Chap. V., p. 36, st. 7, ff.

Many of the monk's ideas, expressed in his Minor Poems (Edit. Halliwell), have been further developed by Hawes; compare: "Mesure is treasure," p. 208, and "On Moderation," p. 80, with "Pastime," v. 2535, 3326, "The Chorle and the Bird" (p. 179) with "Pastime," v. 1298, 3444, 3716 (notes), "Pur le Roy (p. 2), with "Pastime," v. 2675 ff., "On Nature," (p. 18), with verses, 3318, 450, 2468, 3698, 5131, 5517.

With regard to other parts of our allegory the reader will find many other sources mentioned in the notes to our text. Almost all of Lydgate's writings supplied Hawes with suggestions and ideas, which he reproduced in his own form here and there in our poem; but there still remains ample proof of Hawes's lively imagination everywhere, especially in Graund Amour's adventures and battles with the different monsters, which form a strong romantic feature in "The Pastime."

CHAPTER VIII.

HAWES'S STYLE AND DIDACTIC TENDENCIES.

Hawes, like his master, shows sometimes great abruptness in the context and transitions, but on the whole he strongly improves on Lydgate's style. While the sentences of the latter often run on aimlessly, without definite stop or logical connection, our poet on the whole writes in compact, clear verses; contrary to his master, he also makes a clear distinction in the different dialogues between direct and indirect speech

(Comp. Schick p. CXXXVI). Hawes, as a rule, keeps his ideas well together. It is therefore interesting to notice that *Graund Amour* lives in a pagan and at the same time in the Christian world. This appears very strikingly, as Warton remarks, at the marriage between the hero and his lady. They are first joined by *Venus* and *Cupid* and then married by "lex ecclesia" (see v. 5268); but this feature is very common in all the poets of the middle ages, and can hardly be considered a fault of our author.

An improvement on Lydgate is the disappearance of many pleonasms and stock phrases which occur so frequently in the master's poems (see Schick p. CXXXVII). Hawes, however, is also very fond of proverbs and current didactic sentences, (see verses 870, 1638, 1835 [2295], 1874, 2073, 2101, 4596, etc.)

Well known are the following lines (5423 ff.):

"For so the daye be never so long

At last the belles ringeth to evensonge."

Thomas Ward says that these lines ought to suffice to make the poet immortal, but whether they are really our author's own invention or like most of the above cited verses, only a proverb of his time, is difficult to decide; certain it is that Hawes gave these lines great currency, for they also appear in John Heywood's collection of "Proverbs," 1546 (edited by T. Sharman, London, 1874, p. 141, v. 10-11);

"Yet is he sure, be the day never so long, Evermore at last they ring to evensong."

Characteristic of our poet is his strong endeavour "to purify" the language, replacing many of the old English expressions by French or Latin words (see v. 860 ff.). This tendency gives the style and language a more definite character but it produces lack of vividness and colour.

In the treatment of love and the active part which Venus and Cupid take in it, our poet follows the mediæval school of his predecessors, most expressively illustrated in the "Romaunt of the Rose," "Court of Love," and "Temple of Glass." With regard to other minor features in the style Hawes closely imitates his master; to mention them here would only

mean a repetition of Dr. Schick's remarks on Lydgate's style, (p. CXXXX).

The poet's didactic tendency in the Pastime must strike every reader. He begins to write "to eschew idlenes;" and blames this vice throughout his poem (see Dedic., v. 44, 490, 717, 5732, etc.). He does not believe, however, in studying and writing for one's own interest (see v. 484-518, 710 ff.) as seems already to have been the custom in his time. Hawes's ideal is to write "for the common profit" (v. 485), "to disnull vice and the vicious to blame" (v. 720). As the only true poetry therefore he considers the fable (allegory) and admonishes strong rebukes to the authors of his time for writing other poems with different aims (v. 1226); he uses also strong language towards the readers, calling them "cursed and evil fools (v. 743) dull and opprest with blindness" (v. 736) for no longer understanding the hidden meaning of a fable (v. 750, 843 ff.). It almost sounds as if his earlier poem had met with a cold reception on the part of such readers.

Our poet also wishes that every true knight and gentleman should not only be a brave and sturdy warrior and a true Christian but also a tolerably good scholar; his aim, therefore, is to encourage the young men of his time in learning (see v. 515 ff.), but whether he succeeded in doing so by his introduction of these seven stiff, dry old ladies called sciences is very doubtful. In his verses against avarice, sloth, gluttony, etc., Hawes follows the general tendency of the allegorical poems of his time.

[A complete edition comprising Part I, the foregoing Dissertation; Part II, a carefully collated reprint of the Text from Wayland's Edition; and Part III, Glossary and Notes, will be published should a sufficient number of subscribers come forward. Intending subscribers should communicate with the publisher, Mr. Th. Wohlleben, 45, Great Russell Street, London, W.C.]

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VITA.

Ich, Eugen Adrian Burkart wurde geboren am 2 April 1871 als Sohn des Ofenfabrikanten Stephan Burkart in Emmishofen (Kt. Thurgau) und erhielt meinen ersten Unterricht an der dortigen Primarschule und an der Sekundarschule Kreuzlingen. Im Frühling 1887 trat ich in das Lehrerseminar Kreuzlingen ein und erhielt dort im Frühling 1890 das thurgauische Primarlehrerpatent. Im Oktober desselben Jahres begab ich mich zur Erlernung der englischen Sprache nach London, wo ich mich bis Neujahr 1892 in einer Privatschule betätigte. Ich verliess diese, um im englischen Schulwesen neue

Ich verliess diese, um im englischen Schulwesen neue Erfahrungen, zu sammeln und übernahm eine neue Lehrstelle in einem Institut an der Ostrüsse Englands (Felixstowe, Suffolk), wo ich ein Jahr verblieb. Der Frühling 1893 traf mich als Lehrer in einem kaufmännischen Institut in Rolle (Kt. Waadt), welche Stelle ich im Sommer 1894 verliess, um in Florenz noch die italienische Sprache zu erlernen. Zu Ostern 1895 kam ich von Italien zurück und bezog die Universität Zürich. Nachdem ich dort während fünf Semestern mich dem Studium der englischen und der romanischen Sprachen gewidmet hatte, verreiste ich im August letzten Jahres abermals nach England um am britischen Museum in London das Material zu vorliegender Arbeit zu sammeln. Im Mai dieses Jahres kehrte ich nach Zürich zurück und setzte meine Studien noch ein Semester fort.

Ich danke hiemit den Verwaltungen der Bibliotheken von London und Cambridge, wie auch dem hochlöbl. Grafen v. Dysart für die gütige Überlassung des Materials und ihr freundliches Entgegenkommen. Ebenso danke ich meinen hochverehrten Herren Professoren Vetter, Morf und Hunziker für ihren anregenden Unterricht; ebenso Herrn Prof. Skeat in Cambridge und allen denjenigen, die mich in dieser Arbeit unterstützt haben.

End of Dissertation.

